

Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN ZURICH

TO AMEMBASSY LONDON FLASH

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTO 27022

NODIS/CHEROKEE

DEPARTMENT FOR HABIB

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO WHITE HOUSE FOR SCOWCROFT

FOR AMBASSADOR ARMSTRONG FROM THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UK, AF, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER

1. YOU SHOULD GIVE THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM ME TO CALLAGHAN TO THE FOREIGN SECRETARY AS SOON AFTER OPENING OF BUSINESS AS POSSIBLE. IN HANDING OVER MESSAGE YOU SHOULD TELL CROSLAND I WANTED HIM TO SEE MESSAGE BEFORE IT WAS DELIVERED, AND ASK THAT HE TRANSMIT IT TO THE PRIME MINISTER AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, UNLESS HE PERSONALLY OBJECTS TO ITS CONTENT.

2. BEGIN TEXT: "DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER: AS ANTONY WILL HAVE TOLD YOU, WE HAVE RECEIVED A MESSAGE FROM PRIME MINISTER VORSTER WHICH TAKES STRONG EXCEPTION TO THE CHANGE YOU AND I HAD AGREED UPON IN ANNEX C, WHICH WOULD GIVE BLACKS A MAJORITY ON THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT'S COUNCIL OF STATE. HE ARGUES THAT TO TAKE THIS STEP WOULD HAVE THE PRACTICAL EFFECT OF MOVING TO MAJORITY GOVERNMENT IMMEDIATELY, THEREBY SHORT-CUTTING THE WHOLE PURPOSE BEHIND THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT CONCEPT.

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AFTER SOME THOUGHT I HAVE COME TO THE RELUCTANT

CONCLUSION THAT, GIVEN VORSTER'S STRONG OBJECTIONS, WE SHOULD RETURN TO THE ORIGINAL CONCEPT OF A WHITE MAJORITY ON THE COUNCIL OF STATE DURING THE PERIOD OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT.

FROM A SUBSTANTIVE STANDPOINT THERE IS, I FEAR, A CLEAR DANGER THAT THE WHITE RHODESIANS WILL FLATLY REFUSE TO ACCEPT A BLACK MAJORITY ON THE COUNCIL, THEREBY LEADING TO AN IMMEDIATE BREAK IN THE MOMENTUM WE HAVE THUS FAR ESTABLISHED. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF FULL MAJORITY RULE IS ASSURED TO THE BLACKS AFTER 18 TO 20 MONTHS, AND IF THEY ARE ALSO ASSURED AN IMMEDIATE MAJORITY ON THE CABINET, AS THE ORIGINAL VERSION OF ANNEX C DOES, THEY WILL HAVE MADE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS.

FROM A PROCEDURAL VIEWPOINT, VORSTER ACCEPTED ANNEX C AS ORIGINALLY DRAFTED BY THE UK, WITH ITS WHITE MAJORITY ON THE COUNCIL. TO SEEK NOW TO CHANGE THAT MAJOR POINT COULD WELL LEAD VORSTER TO RETREAT FROM THE MANY CONCESSIONS YOU AND WE HAVE ALREADY RUNG FROM HIM. I VERY MUCH DOUBT THAT INSISTANCE ON A REVISION OF THE ORIGINAL ANNEX C DRAFT NOW, WITH THE POSSIBLE ATTENDANT CONSEQUENCES SO FAR AS VORSTER IS CONCERNED, IS WORTH THE COST.

I DO NOT MINIMIZE THE POTENTIAL DIFFICULTIES INsofar AS THE BLACK RHODESIANS ARE CONCERNED, BUT IT MAY WELL BE THAT THESE DIFFICULTIES COULD BE REDUCED BY REORDERING THE DIVISION OF POWERS BETWEEN THE CABINET, AND THE COUNCIL OF STATE, STRENGHTENING THE FORMER AND WEAKENING THE LATTER.

I SHOULD ALSO ADD, HOWEVER, THAT I AM NOT PERSUADED THAT A WHITE MAJORITY COUNCIL OF STATE WOULD NECESSARILY PREJUDICE THE SCHEME IN THE EYES OF THE BLACK AFRICAN PRESIDENTS. THEY WILL HAVE ACHIEVED THE CENTRAL OBJECTIVE FOR WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN STRUGGLING FOR YEARS: AN IRREVOCABLE PROCESS TO MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE FOR ZIMBABWE WITHIN A FIXED TERM. FURTHERMORE, SMITH WOULD, IN ALL LIKELIHOOD, BE OUT DURING THE SECRET

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TRANSITION. THIS, AND NOT THE FACT THAT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT'S COUNCIL OF STATE WOULD HAVE A WHITE MAJORITY, SHOULD BE DECISIVE. IN ANY EVENT, THE IMPORTANT THING IS TO GET THE TRANSITION TO AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT. AFTER THAT GOVERNMENT IS IN PLACE ADJUSTMENTS WILL BE POSSIBLE WITH THE AGREEMENT OF ALL THE PARTIES INVOLVED.

THUS, I URGE THAT YOU AGREE THAT WE RETURN

TO THE ORIGINAL UK VERSION OF ANNEX C, WITH ITS CONCEPT
OF A WHITE MAJORITY ON THE COUNCIL. IF YOU AGREE, I
WOULD SUGGEST THAT YOU HAVE PETER RAMSBOTHAM ADVISE UNDER
SECRETARY HABIB IN WASHINGTON WHO WILL KNOW HOW TO REACH
ME, OR THAT YOU REACH ME THROUGH RICHARD SAMUELS,
WHO I BELIEVE WILL BE IN DIRECT TOUCH WITH US IN AFRICA
SHORTLY. WARM REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER. END TEXT" KISSINGER

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